

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-06

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EUR-08 TRSE-00 OMB-01 DHA-02 IO-03 AS-01 /067 W

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R 291935Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2326

INFO AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN

AMEMBASSY CARACAS

AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GEORGETOWN 0201

LIMDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GY

SUBJECT: GUYANESE PERCEPTIONS OF THE U.S.

REF: STATE 010605

1. SUMMARY: GUYANESE GET DISTORTED PICTURE OF US SCENE FROM MEDIA CONTROLLED BY PNC GOVT, WHICH DEPICT US AS CORRUPT EVIL DECAYING GIANT; PM BURNHAM AND OTHER LEADERS ARE VICTIMS OF PARANOIA ABOUT US INTENTIONS AND ABILITY TO QUOTE DESTABILIZE UNQUOTE GUYANA. LONG-TERM STRATEGY CALLS FOR SOCIALIST THRUST AT HOME AND COLLECTIVE CONFRONTATION WITH CAPITALIST DC'S ABROAD. THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL UNDERSTANDING OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM AND PROCESSES THOUGH SOME SUBTLETIES ARE LOST. E.G. IN EXECUTIVE-CONGRESS RELATIONSHIP. ON ANGOLA, GUYANESE LEADERS SEE SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION AS QUOTE GUT UNQUOTE ISSUE, AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT AS SYMBOLIC OF A POTENTIAL CUBAN GUARANTOR ROLE AGAINST

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BRAZILIAN AND/OR VENEZUELAN AGGRESSION. WE FORESEE ONLY LIMITED

AND GRADUAL CARRYOVER IN BILATERAL TRADE FIELD OF GUYANA'S
IDEOLOGICAL OPPOSITION AND LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THIRD WORLD
PRESSURE FOR INDEXATION OR OTHER FORMS OF COMMODITY PRICE IT UP-
ULATION. END SUMMARY.

2. ONE NEED NOT BELABOR THE UNIQUE CHARACTER OF GUYANA EVEN WITHIN
THE GREAT DIVERSITY ENCOMPASSED IN LATIN AMERICAN REGION. WE
WELCOME, HOWEVER, THE CHANCE TO EXPOSTULATE ON WHAT MAKES GUYANA
UNIQUE BOTH IN THE NATURE OF ITS SYSTEM AND GOALS AND IN HOW IT
PERCEIVES OUR COUNTRY. FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS ARE KEYED TO THE QUES-
TIONS SET FORTH IN YOUR TELEGRAM AND GENERALLY REPRESENT CONSENSUS OF
COUNTRY TEAM.

A.) CONTROL OF MEDIA BY SOCIALIST GOVT AND MARXIST OPPOSITION HAS
MEANT VIRTUAL SILENCE ON STRENGTHS REVEALED IN MEETING RECENT
CHALLENGES TO US POLITICAL SYSTEM, WHICH ARE APPRECIATED ONLY BY FEW
REMAINING EDUCATED BOURGEOIS. RULINGPNC ANDOPPOSITION PPP DEPICT
AMERICAN CRISES AS INEVITABLE RESULT OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL INEQUITIES INHERENT IN CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM OF WHICH US
IS PRIMEEXAMPLE.

WATERGATE AND OTHER MANIFESTATIONS OF VIGOROUS MEDIA PURSUIT OF
FACTS ARE VIEWED AS PRODUCT OF FREE BUT UNDISCIPLINED SOCIETY.
ANTIDOTES PRESCRIBED BY GOG ARE MEDIA CONTROL AND COMPULSORY
NATIONAL SERVICE. IN GENERAL, PUBLIC IS CONSTANTLY REMINDED
THAT US IS BASICALLY A CORRUPT EVIL GIANT, VICTIMOF ITS OWN ECONOMIC
SYSTEM, AND CAPABLE OF UNBRIDLED INTERFERENCE AND VIOLENCE
ON WORLD STAGE IN EFFORT TOWARD OFF ULTIMATE DEFEAT AT HANDS OF
SOCIALISM.

B.) THOUGH ELATED OVER VIETNAM OUTCOME, GOG BELIEVES INHERENTLY
AGGRESSIVE NATURE OF CAPITALISM SIGNIFIES THAT US WITHDRAWAL FROM
VIETNAM IS MERELY TRANSITORY STAGE IN CONTINUED PURSUIT OF IM-
PERIALIST HEGEMONY. PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY OWE PRESENT POWER IN
PART TO US SUPPORT, BURNHAM ANDPNC STILL HAVE A NOT ALWAYS LATENT
DISTRUST OF US INTENTIONS AND EXAGGERATED BELIEF IN US ABILITY
TO QUOTE DESTABILIZE UNQUOTE THEIR COUNTRY. THIS PARANOIA AND
FEAR OF OUR STRENGTH IS A MAJOR FORCE IN MOVING GUYANA TOWARD
CLOSER RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST POWERS.

C.) SHARP DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS ON
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FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES AND MEANS FOR ACHIEVING SAME TEND
TO BE REGARDED BY GOG AS TEMPORARY FACTORS ARISING FROM WATERGATE
AFTERMATH PLUS ELECTION CAMPAIGN. GOG REACHED ITS BASIC DETERMI-
NATION TO ABANDON ANY GUISE OF POLITICAL COOPERATION WITH US
WITHOUT REGARD TODOMESTIC FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE IN U.S. GUYANA
DEPENDS ON US ONLY AS NORMALLY PROFITABLE MARKET FOR RAW MATERIALS
EXPORTS, AND AS PREFERRED BUT NOT EXCLUSIVE SOURCE OF KEY IMPORTS
SUCH AS HEAVY CONSTRUCTION EQUIPMENT. USAID PROGRAM, WHILE

SIGNIFICANT IN PAST, HAS DECLINED TO LEVEL WELL BELOW THAT WHICH
COULD HAVE ANY POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

D.) DIRECT EXPOSURE TO LIFE IN THE US PLUS WEALTH OF OTHER CON-
TACTS HAS PRODUCED SUBSTANTIAL UNDERSTANDING OF US POLITICAL
PROCESS ON PART OF GOG. SOME GOG OFFICIALS, WHO AT ONE TIME
HARBORED A KIND OF CHILDISH FAITH IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM, ARE
BEWILDERED THAT IT HAS SPAWNED SUCH A SPECTRUM OF UGLY PROBLEMS.
MORE PREVALENT, HOWEVER, IS CONFUSION OVER FACT THAT WE LET OUR
PROBLEMS HANG OUT SO PLAINLY IN PUBLIC VIEW. SOME SUBTLETIES OF
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONGRESS AND EXECUTIVE ARE LOST EVEN ON
KNOWLEDGEABLE GUYANESE BECAUSE OF THEIR LEGACY OF PARLIAMENTARY
GOVT FROM UK. THERE ARE INDEED DOUBTS APPROACHING CYNICISM WITHIN
GOG AS TO SINCERITY OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH IN PURSUING FOREIGN POLICY
MEASURES AFFECTING THIRD WORLD, NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, AND BLACK
LIBERATION EFFORTS IN SOUTH AFRICA THROUGH US CONGRESS. SAME
APPLIES TO LESSER DEGREE ON LATIN AMERICAN POLICY INITIATIVES.
END SECTION 1 OF 1...

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ACTION ARA-06

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 GEORGETOWN 0201

LIMDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

E.) WATERSHED IN SWITCH FROM TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP AND DEPENDENCE ON US OCCURRED IN 1969-71. OFFICIAL GUYANA REHETORIC TODAY HOLDS US AS QUOTE ENEMY UNQUOTE. INITIALLY AT LEAST, PNC LEADERSHIP WAS AFFECTED BY DISAPPOINTMENT OVER GRADUAL REDUCTION IN US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, ABSENCE OF ALL-OUT USG SUPPORT DURING FLARE UP OF ESSEQUIBO TERRITORIAL DISPUTE WITH VENEZUELA, NEED TO COUNTER CHARGES OF SELLOUT TO US INFLUENCE EMANATING FROM RADICAL MARXISH OPPOSITION, AND PERCEPTION OF GROWING STRENGTH OF THIRD WORLD MOVEMENT. IMPACT HAS BEEN FELT IN EVERY FACET OF BILATERAL RELATIONS TO EXTENT THAT GUYANA NOW GIVES APPEARANCE OF SEEKING CONFRONTATION RATHER THAN CONCILIATION.

F.) OUR REACTION TO CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA IS REGARDED BY THE GOG AS COVERT SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA. DEEP EMOTIONAL OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID AMONG AFRO-
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GUYANESE LEADERS MAKES THIS A QUOTE GUT UNQUOTE ISSUE IN GOG FOREIGN POLICY. IN THEIR EYES, CUBA'S ROLE IN ANGOLA IS PREPARING WAY FOR FINAL ASSAULT ON SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. MOREOVER, BURNHAM AND COMPANY VIEW CUBA (WITH BACKING OF USSR) AS POTENTIAL ULTIMATE GUARANTOR OF GUYANA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND ITS MARCH TOWARD COMMUNIST SOCIETY. BOTH BRAZIL AND VENEZUELA ARE REGARDED AS POTENTIAL ENEMIES UNDER US INFLUENCE AND PRODDING. WE BELIEVE THAT GUYANA WOULD BE LIKELY TO CALL FOR CUBAN MILITARY SUPPORT IF BURNHAM AND COMPANY THOUGHT EITHER OF ITS NEIGHBORS WERE TEMPTED TO MAKE A MILITARY MOVE AGAINST GUYANA.

G.) GOG LEADERS SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO DEALING COLLECTIVELY WITH US AND DEVELOPED WORLD. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT ONLY BY SHOWING UNCOMPROMISING LOYALTY TO RADICAL THIRD WORLD CONSENSUS CAN THEY OVERCOME GUYANA'S SMALL SIZE AND ECONOMIC WEAKNESS, AND FORGE CREDENTIALS AS LEADER OF SOCIALIST THIRD WORLD. THEY HAVE ALMOST NO FAITH IN POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES THROUGH COLLABORATION WITH DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. NOR DO THEY REGARD CAPITALISM AS CAPABLE OF SURVIVING MUCH BEYOND END OF CENTURY, EVEN IN COUNTRIES MOST ADVANCED TECHNOLOGICALLY. ACCORDINGLY, LONG-TERM STRATEGY CALLS FOR PURSUIT OF DISCIPLINED SOCIALIST SOCIETY AT HOME AND COLLECTIVE CONFRONTATION WITH CAPITALIST DC'S ABROAD. EXCEPT FOR CARICOM AND POSSIBLY SELA, GOG IS LARGELY INDIFFERENT TO OAS AND OTHER HEMISPHERIC ORGANIZATIONS.

H.) GOG LEADERS ARE CONVINCED THAT US AND OTHER CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ARE SLIDING SLOWLY DOWNHILL AND THEY WELCOME THIS DECLINE FOR REASONS INDICATED SUPRA. AT LEAST SINCE 1971, GUYANA'S VOTING PATTERN IN UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS HAS CONSISTENTLY BEEN OPPOSED TO US AND GOG IS DOUBTLESS ENCOURAGED TO CONTINUE IN THIS DIRECTION BY ITS PERCEPTION OF DECLINING US POWER WHICH EXTENUATES FEAR OF ANTAGONIZING A POWERFUL ENEMY.

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I.) GUYANA'S TRADE WITH GDR, PRC, USSR, AND CUBA HAS INCREASED OVER PAST SEVERAL YEARS, BUT COMPARED TO TWO-WAY TRADE WITH US, THE COMBINED TOTAL OF GOG TRADE WITH THESE COUNTRIES IS WELL BELOW SERIOUS COMPETITION. IF GUYANA COULD EASILY SWITCH TO USSR OR GDR AS MAJOR EQUIPMENT AND FINISHED GOODS SUPPLIERS, IT WOULD NOT HESITATE TO DO SO. WE REGARD THIS AS NOT REPEAT NOT LIKELY, FOR BOTH TECHNOLOGICAL AND PRICE CONSIDERATIONS. STILL, IN REPLACING CAPITAL GOODS AND IN NEW INVESTMENT, GUYANA WILL MORE AND MORE USE NON-TRADITIONAL SUPPLIERS, INTERMINGLING IDEOLOGY AND NATIONAL TRADE DECISIONS IN A CONFLICTING MANNER. ON EXPORT SIDE, CALCINED BAUXITE IS ONLY PRODUCT WITH WHICH GUYANA COULD ADVERSELY AFFECT US INTEREST, BUT WE BELIEVE THIS IS EQUALLY UNLIKELY TO HAPPEN FOR PRAGMATIC REASONS. IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, GOG FULLY REALIZES THAT SIGNIFICANT US BILATERAL CONTRIBUTION TO GUYANA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS A THING OF PAST. OTHER BILATERAL DONORS ARE NOT LACKING, INCLUDING PRC, UK AND CANADA, AND THERE ARE VARYING DEGREES OF COMMITMENT TO GIVE ASSISTANCE FROM CUBA, GDR, NORTH KOREA AND USSR. IFI'S WILL CONTINUE TO BE MAJOR SOURCE OF LOAN FUNDING. GOG WILL ATTEMPT TO KEEP DOOR OPEN TO US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, BUT WILL NEITHER CHANGE ITS IDEOLOGICAL OPPOSITION NOR ADOPT IMPORTUNING POSTURE IN ORDER TO DO SO.

J.) ALONG WITH MANY OTHER THIRD WORLD NATIONS, GUYANA BELIEVES US LACKS WILLINGNESS TO DISTRIBUTE MORE EQUITABLY A WEALTH WHICH SHE BELIEVES DERIVES FROM EXPLOITATION OF RAW MATERIAL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES LIKE HERSELF. (PARADOXICALLY, IT IS OUR PHENOMENAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY WHICH GUYANESE AT ALL LEVELS MOST ADMIRE AND RESPECT.) GUYANA ESPOUSES THIRD WORLD RADICALS' PERCEPTION OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY AS INTRINSICALLY EXPLOITATIVE AND IMPERIALISTIC AND STRONGLY SUPPORTS PRODUCER ORGANIZATIONS. SHE SEES

INDEXATION OR OTHER FORMS OF UNILATERAL PRICE MANIPULATION BY SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF OBTAINING QUOTE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC JUSTICE UNQUOTE.

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